/39 cont'd/

535 In the evening of the last day of the year, in the kitchen, in
302 front of the fireplace and before the image of the god of the hearth, they plait the bride's hair in the fashion of married women. The groom arrives, the whole family is together; the engaged couple kneel and bow three times to the god of the hearth. The marriage ceremony is completed! They prostrate themselves to their parents and to the whole family; a little extra is served at the meal, and they wish one another better days and a return of good fortune.

463 On the first days of the new year the parents invite the go-
465 between, they dine the best they can, they pour gin, and the young
56 couple prostrate themselves to him. Then they offer the go-between the usual present of the poor, either a string of cash or a string of cash and 400 cash. They make excuses for the little that they can offer, they thank him effusively, and then they have discharged their obligations.

585 When the bride's family is very poor, it happens that the groom's family (mother-in-law and go-between) take the girl to their home when she is only nine or ten years old or even younger. They keep her in the family as an unmarried girl until she has reached 15; /40/ then the last day of the year she is married as described above. Marriage without ceremonies is also practiced in the month of the year when there is a sudden death near the time of the wedding in one of the families of the engaged couple; the same would the girl's parents die; then the groom's family hastens to take the girl home to marry her when she is about 15.

765 Among the more Chinese families, upon the death of the
585 parents of one of the parties several days before the wedding, they follow the Chinese custom, which consists in celebrating the marriage without paying attention to the death. The festivities take place with the usual vigor. Only on the day after the wedding do the lamentations and the great mourning begin; the death is announced everywhere and preparations for the funeral are made.

Mo 587 589

/88 cont'd/
will be invoked, and these rights will form the basis of the discussion.

Therefore after the death of the husband, according to custom the widow will stay in the home of her parents-in-law 49 days. [765] These days are called days of mourning. When this period of time has gone by, she will definitely be able to leave her parents-in-law and go back to her own family. That is her right.

Mo 589

Nevertheless I have known more than one case where young widows did not wait for the 49 days to pass before leaving the parents-in-law; they simply fled. This is because they had wind of the dealings of the parents-in-law, who were getting ready to sell them against their wishes. The right of widows is then a precarious right. Also a widow without sons looks quickly for a match, for she knows well that if she does not look for him herself, her hand will be forced. (1)

Ma 587

1. Shirokogoroff, Social Organization of the Manchus, pp. 70, 71: These are some peculiarities as to the widow's and the widower's marriage. The widow can be remarried according to her personal choice and wish. None of her clan, i.e. her husband's clan, can force her to do it. The late husband's younger brother is always obliged to take care of the widow and his brother's children. The widow has the right to request the separation of her family from the rest of her husband's family and in this case she inherits all the property of her husband. /Cited in English./

Ma 614 589

P. 54: If a widow declares to the Mokunda (the clan chief) that she does not wish to be remarried, but the relatives of her late husband persist on it,

/88 cont'd/

Ma 614 589

the Mokunda may decide if she shall be remarried or not, and usually he takes the widow's interest into consideration. /Cited in English, with French interpolation indicated by parentheses./

2. Procedure for the Purchase of a Widow

Mo 587 [765]

Let us suppose that a young widow has returned to her parents' home 49 days after the death of her husband. It is one of the facts of the day, known immediately throughout the whole region, all the more because everybody knows she is waiting for a match. The candidates who have already made inquiries ask through a go-between or even personally for an interview with the widow. This interview ordinarily takes place at the home of a neighbor or friend. If the /ne/go[illegible]ations have results, the two parties generally give each Mo [701] other a token; the widow gives her ring or her eardrops or her bracelet; the future husband invariably gives his belt. These tokens bestow the right to act with force in case of contest, of rivalry, or of resistance on the part of the widow's owners. Only a few days after the interview, for such marriages move with precipitation and in the greatest secrecy for fear that the widow will be abducted by a rival, the suitor sends to the widow's "own" parents two go-betweens. They present themselves with the traditional jug of gin and arrange for the earnest, which is here insignificant. It generally does not exceed about ten strings of cash. It is a pure formality. They leave from home, enjoining the greatest secrecy, to go to the home of the former parents-in-law of the widow in order to obtain their consent and to discuss the price. The parents-in-law are indeed the owners of the widow.

Mo 587 606

When the parents-in-law are well disposed and willing to discuss in question, they are offered a jug of gin; in the opposite case the jug is taken away, and plans are made to abduct the widow by force and as quickly as possible. But when all goes well, the go-betweens come back the second day and begin by promising the

/104 cont'd/

595 587 The T'ou-jen find this kind of polygamy rational when they think of the sad condition in which orphans are put, who, they say, will have to count solely on the grandparents alone, who are already old. I believe that the true explanation of this fact must be found in the former custom which did not permit widows to leave the clan.

Notice with respect to this very special category of polygamists the very special manner in which one speaks of these marriages. One does not say that the widow looked for a husband, as one says in the case of widows who remarry outside the clan of the parents-in-law, but one says sarun xâgu, "to cover the shadow." (2) Is it the

[587 715]

2. It is perhaps useful to note in connection with the expression "to cover the shadow," the way of thinking of the Ou-hoan, Sien-pi peoples (Tong hou peoples) on the subject of the condition of widows in the world beyond. Parker, A Thousand Years of the Tartars, 2nd ed., p. 85: (The widow after being remarried either to her husband's brothers or to his paternal uncles...) "after death reverted to her first husband in the next world." /Cited in English, with introductory part in French./

new husband who covers the shadow of his dead brother, so that this shadow will do no more evil? Among the T'ou-jen the shamans claim that all illnesses are caused by the passage of the shadow of a dead person over the body of a person in good health.

587 589 765 Yet it happens, when widows are no longer young, that they stay in the family of their parents-in-law without remarrying, solely in order to care for their children. When /105/ widows who have not remarried bear another child during the two years following the death of the husband, such a case does not surprise the T'ou-jen too much; the child is supposed to be the child of the dead man. It is

Mo 587 589 765 [172] [822] /105 cont'd/ then called, if it is a son, either, according to the Chinese custom, Hiao cheng tse, i.e., "/son/ born during the mourning period," or else, according to the T'ou-jen custom, xara khû, i.e., "black son," which again means "son of mourning" since black is the color of mourning among the T'ou-jen; they say "to wear black" for "to be in mourning." Black was formerly also the color of mourning among the Mongols. When widows who have not remarried bear children after two years, it happens that these children are abandoned or that they are drowned right after birth, especially if they are girls. That happens when the family has many children, or when none of the neighbors wants to feed the poor being. When the newborn is a son, they will keep him, but he will not inherit family property, and as a general rule they will send him at about the age of nine or ten to a lamasery to remain a bachelor. This is the most practical solution for avoiding difficulties in the family later. (1)

Mo [847 848] Mo [792]

Ma [847 848]

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit. p. 77: The Manchus are very strict in killing illegitimate children, i.e. the children born by unmarried girls and widows.

The other Tungus groups consider girls who have children as the best for marriage, because these girls have the proof of their fecundity. /Cited in English./

Mo 595 c) The third category of polygamists is met in well-to-do families who lack workers.

Mo 461 462 595 We have seen that all the work, so to speak, is assigned to the wife; the household duties, the care of the livestock, and a large part of the work in the fields. A T'ou-jen wife actually kills herself with work. It is painful to us to look at these men with the nomadic instinct, do-nothings, idlers, spare themselves the least fatigue. It can happen, therefore, in families which have much

[22 cont.]

346 must have its own door to the outside. The chapel may not be
*778 constructed in such a way that it can also be reached through another room that is occupied. It must be located in the main
[783] house. In order to avoid any danger of pollution, the chapel is
[791] preferably erected on the roof of the main house. The soothsayer determines in what part or on what side of the main house it should be. Aside from silence, the reason for this strict sep-
[783] aration from the other rooms is that in crossing other rooms one may become unclean, especially if the rooms are accessible to the women.

783 Prescriptions for purity: Ordinarily, any man or boy may
*[778] touch the spear, fetch it, and take it away. They may also
[562] enter the chapel at will. Women, however, may never touch the spear or visit the chapel. They are always regarded as unclean. There are also certain taboos, however, for the men.

The man's wife or any other woman in the family may
[846] not be in confinement. Not until ten days after the conclusion of the confinement, that is, 40 days after the birth, is the man pure again. If he has visited another family in which there is a woman in childbed, he is pure immediately after the conclusion of the confinement, that is, 30 days after the birth.

Those in mourning are unclean for 49 days, if they are
• [765] members of the dead person's own family. If the parents have died, the children are regarded as unclean for 100 days. If someone participated in the obsequies of another family, he is unclean for only three days.

[791] These prescriptions for purity also apply to the soothsayer.
*[778] He may not enter the chapel during this time, and especially may not touch the spear or even practice soothsaying. When this period has elapsed, the men are automatically pure again; there is no special purification ceremony (1).

[171] 1. [Foreign text p. 26.] The prescriptions for purification are the same as among the Chinese in Tsinghai; they apply for all religious activities and temple visits. The Chinese also have

[34 cont.]

000 represent long hair.

791 Equipment: Like the lamas, they have a bell, a large, two-
778 sided drum, a small double-drum (hourglass drum); for exorcising
534 demons they use a whip made of human skin and a bone flute.
[789] Furthermore, they have Tibetan books, sounding boards, and
thunderbolt.

• [765] The drum was formerly made of human skulls, over which human skin was stretched for the drumhead. The whip had a handle of human bones. The flute was made of the shinbone of a full-grown girl who had not yet married and had lost her life through suicide or an accident. It is open at one end and cut off smoothly. This end serves as mouthpiece and is inlaid with metal. The other end has a small hole on each of the two condyles. The flute is wrapped with the girl's skin; it is sewed tight (5). The same skin is also used for plaiting the whip and

5. [Foreign text p. 35.] The reports vary concerning the bone from which the flute is made. Most of them say that it is the shinbone; others claim that it is the thigh bone. I did not learn anywhere that the periosteum had to be eaten. -- The flute has an uncannily plaintive tone; it has an especially penetrating effect at night, when it is often heard in lamaseries. -- The Bon also try to drive away unpleasant events with the sound of the flute, for example, a punitive expedition, tax collectors, soldiers, etc., as happened in Kweiteh, for instance.

[789]

covering the drum. There are certain regulations for the manufacture of these objects. The Bon priest makes the implements himself (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 35.] What is here said concerning the making of the flute, drum, and whip is confirmed by other people, but no one has seen how they are made in detail. Some say it has to be a girl who has not yet

[635 cont.]

764 evening the neighbors and friends gather and pray for the dead, squatting in a circle. Some days before the cremation, the master of ceremonies invites a lama to conduct the death ceremonies and burn the corpse. First, however, the mother's brother must release the corpse; this is done the evening before at the meal, when he demands an accounting for the dead person and his interment.

The cremation is undertaken outside the village in a crematory, which on each occasion is built at a different place. The lama performs almost the same ceremonies on this occasion as at the fire-pouring. After the cremation the remaining bones are kept in a wooden chest and temporarily buried on the spot. Not until the next spring do the relatives transfer them to the family cemetery. -- Small children are not buried. Adult girls are burned quietly without ceremonies in an isolated place.

765 The strict period of mourning lasts 49 days. As a sign of mourning, the men turn their clothing inside out, and the women remove their ornaments and certain parts of their headdress.

[636] Details

763 Preparation of the corpse: Shortly before death, the men
764 shave first the head and then the beard of the dying person. If death sets in too suddenly, however, so that they can no longer shave him alive, it is left undone. After the shaving, he is undressed and his hands, face, and feet are washed, not the entire body. The men do this for men, the women for women. The women keep their long hair, as do girls. The hair is parted in the center and two three-stranded braids are plaited, which hang down over the breast or the back. In the case of sudden death, the corpse is merely washed and the hair dressed; the washing is then done with only a damp cloth (1).

[823]

1. [Foreign text p. 650.] Why no water may flow over the corpse could not be discovered; probably it is feared that the water would thereby be made impure; it is counted among the basic elements.

[638 cont.]

292 765 [171] Mourning dress: Mourning is worn immediately after the death. It does not consist of a special white garb, as among the Chinese, but only of a change of dress.

During the period of mourning the men remove their colorful vests and take everything colored off their clothing, such as neck bands, sleeve edging, etc. Their long cloak is turned and worn with the lining, or in winter with the fur, on the outside. [302] They do not cut their hair, and they let the beard grow. The red or green trouser belt made of cloth is replaced by [639] a white or black one. Instead of the clothes-belt they wear a thick hemp string.

Like the men, the women also remove the colorful sleeve strips, trouser trimming, and shoe and boot ornamentation, especially everything red. The red or green skirt over the trousers is not worn at all. Instead of the colorful clothes, the woman puts on only a simple upper garment of one color. She takes off the ear pendants, arm bands, and the neck band, and [301] removes from her headdress all lace, tassels, and hanging strings, as well as the silver hair cap [Haarschale] and the little copper plates. She keeps only the simple, rigid frame of the headdress and covers its colorful strips uniformly by sticking green paper on them. She puts a blue cloth made of coarse linen over this as a head veil. She replaces her broad and colorful belt with a hemp string.

[602] [593] All the close relatives are required to wear mourning dress, those who also must give the death-offering. The only exception is the husband upon the death of his wife. He may not wear mourning.

764 782 [602] Prayer service: The prayer service is called "prayer tea." The relatives on the father's side assemble daily in the house of mourning; toward evening they sit on the kang around the open fire in the kitchen and pray the mani for the dead on their mani-string. When they are finished, they receive noodle soup and go home. This prayer service lasts until the day of cremation. One need not sit around the kang fire, however, but can also perform these prayers before the death-box itself.

[646 cont.]

764 the little bones go into it, however, for it is only an ell long and two handbreadths high. The lid is pegged down, like a Chinese coffin. The remaining bones are carried by hand, aprons, or in a back-basket to the nearest mountain-height. Animals as a rule do not eat them because they are burned. Only sheep like to nibble on them. The bones decompose very rapidly, however.

The bone-chest is placed in the oven, weighted down with clay bricks, and then the oven is torn down so that it forms a little mound with the chest buried under it. This is always done if the cremation has taken place after the harvest during the period before the grave festival in the third month.

[765] [769] At the grave festival, the Chinese ch'ing-ming, the bone-chest is buried in the communal family cemetery. The place of the cremation is leveled.

If the cremation is after the grave festival, then the oven is, to be sure, torn down and the place again cultivated, but the bone-chest is not buried at the place of the oven, but on a remote ridge of arable land in a field belonging to

[765] the deceased's own family. Only at the next grave festival in the following year is it transferred to the family cemetery.

If the cremation has taken place on a distant mountain far from the family, then a tent is pitched there to wait until the third day, the bones are stored, and the chest is brought down in order to bury it on the ridge of a field on one's

[776] [778] [823] own land. Such a cremation may never be undertaken on the peak of a mountain, but about halfway up. The peak is sacred to the mountain-spirit and may not be desecrated.

If the bone-chest has been buried in the oven or field, then the relatives burn white paper before it, throw pieces of bread on the bone-grave, and pour out tea before it for the dead. Then they kowtow and go home. The guests are treated with tsamba and butter in the house of mourning. The

[465] master of ceremonies receives 12 loaves of bread and two ells of white cloth; the two fire guards are given six loaves each and two ells of cloth.

[646 cont.]
each and two ells of cloth.

At the next grave festival, which usually falls in the third lunar month, all the relatives gather at the kin-group cemetery for the offering to the dead; at that time the bone-chest is also transferred to it. A number of men go to the old burial spot at the place of cremation, dig up the chest, and bring [647] it to the cemetery without any ceremony. There they dig a small hole and put the chest in it. This is done only by men who are of the same generation as the dead person or of a lower generation. A father, for instance, would never bury his son, nor the uncle his nephew, etc.

As soon as the pit has been filled, the offering for the dead takes place; the relatives burn paper and little sticks of incense, set down loaves of bread, meat, etc., pour out tea, liquor, and soup, and hold a little meal at the grave. Then everyone goes home. -- The transfer of the bones, however, need not be done at the next grave festival; sometimes one waits two or three years. The bones may not be interred, however, outside the period of the grave festival (21).

21. [Foreign text pp. 656-657.] The Tujen word sẽn-miṅ is evidently merely a phonetic imitation of the Chinese ch'ing-ming. The informant said that the Tujen did not know about the grave festival in olden times, but that they have copied it from the Chinese, which indeed is confirmed by the precisely identical rites and the asserted former exposure of the corpse. -- The postponement [657] of a final interment of the bones until this feast, however, remains unexplained, especially since the Chinese usually bury their dead immediately in the cemetery. The informant observed in this connection that the Chinese inter their dead on

[647 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 656-657 cont.] certain lucky days, but the Tujen have no special lucky days for the dead. The day of the ch'ing-ming, however, is always an unfailingly lucky day, and therefore one waits until then. On the other hand, he claimed that the Tujen formerly never had cemeteries, but buried their dead wherever they wished, although not in a common field; after the introduction of cremation this was all the more unnecessary. -- One can scarcely ignore here the probability of an original double interment.

The period of mourning: The actual period of mourning lasts 49 days. Originally the Tujen had no hundred-days memorial; nowadays, however, they often imitate the Chinese in this.

[177]

During these 49 days after the storage of the bones, the chief mourner must go to the provisional grave daily at sundown and burn incense there, pour out soup, and kowtow three times. On the forty-ninth day, however, the whole family goes out, makes an offering of tea, bread, and liquor, and burns paper. In former times on this occasion the men burned the hemp hair-string from their queue, and the women the paper parts of their headdress, which they wore as a sign of mourning. Since nowadays the queue and headdress have disappeared, this ceremony has been lost.

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Starting from the day of death to the forty-ninth day after the bone storage, the members of the family of the dead person may not pay any visits, not even to relatives. If they want to speak to someone, they may not enter the yard, but must ask the people to come out before the yard gate. Even more strongly are they forbidden to visit temples, to appear before the gods' images, to make incense offerings, or to undertake other cult activities. -- During this time spiced

765 [647 cont.]
784 foods, white flour, butter, and milk are also prohibited. The
food consists of simple tsamba. All trips must be made on foot;
[262] one may not ride, but one is allowed to take a beast of burden
along. -- The mourners must abstain from marital intercourse;
[585] also, they may not appear at weddings, for that brings misfortune
[783] to the bride. -- A bereaved shaman or soothsayer may not offici-
[796] ate during this time; in general mourning makes one unclean,
and therefore he should not even be present at a religious event.

[783] After the forty-ninth day these prescriptions automatically lapse. Special purification ceremonies are not necessary. One again starts making the incense offering in the yard, shaves, and pursues his daily activities.

769 Veneration of the dead: Aside from the grave festival, at which all gather for the offering at the kin-group cemetery, the Tujen have no veneration of the dead. There are no ancestral tablets.

769 There is no further thought about the soul of a dead per-
775 son; it has started its migration. Most people know almost nothing about any reward or punishment after death. They do fear the dead, especially if [648] someone has died with claims on or debts to the living, for instance, if the dead person had been robbed, if a deed was unexpiated, etc. Then the soul
[777] haunts its old dwelling, brings misfortune and illness to its own family, indeed, even discord and death. In such cases one
[791] questions a soothsayer concerning the cause of the misfortune, and when it is established that a soul of the dead is involved, it is determined in detail what still must be done for this soul.
[782] One goes to the grave, burns paper, and makes an offering to the dead. If that does not help, one invites a lama to pray for several days; the latter makes a special torma, which is carried away so that the misfortune will be banished.

764 Youthful and unnatural deaths: Boys at the age of 15
885 years are reckoned as adults; they receive a cremation like the adults, regardless of whether they are already married or not.
766 From one to 15 years of age, they are exposed on the field,

[826 cont.]

241 789 778 [791] The wedges: After making the torma the Bon priest inscribes the wedges. They are provided by the seed-master. They have the form of the Lamaistic magic dagger; they are three-edged, seven inches (23 centimeters) long, and one inch (3.3 centimeters) wide. Only the hardest wood is used; in that region there are only the three kinds: huang-san-tzu, hei-ts'u, hua-mu (7).

[824]

7. [Foreign text p. 830.] The names could not be identified; huang-san-tzu seems to be black sandalwood; hua-mu is birch. In any case it is supposed to be the hardest wood that can be found. Among the kinds of wood there, birch is in fact regarded as one of the hardest; people even make wheel rims out of it.

It does not matter whether all of them are made from one of these kinds or whether all the kinds are used. There are five wedges in all. The head of the wedge is notched into three parts (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 829.] The shape of the magic dagger varies. The grip in particular varies, but usually it is three stepped death's-heads. The daggers that I saw were all of iron. I also heard, however, that formerly there were daggers of human bones. In this way the three-edged pointed shape and the bone knob could be easily explained; it would also fit in well with the skull drum, skin whip, bone flute, etc. -- The black color signifies iron.

[765]

[828 cont.]

241 789 821

[Note on foreign text p. 830 cont.]
weather conjuration of this region still seems to be an inheritance from the Bon. The conditions and customs connected with it are strongly reminiscent of the description given by A. Tafel for the Bon in eastern Tibet, Tibetreise, II, pp. 198 ff.

241 789 778 The first four tormas represent evil demons. They are driven away by the throwing. The extra features are given so that they will be content and will not return; they are things which one needs in daily life.

[782] The second torma, weather-torma, represents the spirits of the weather ministry. The extra features are an offering to make them favorably disposed.

The mountain-torma represents the world-mountain. Sun and moon circle around it. This mountain is the spirit paradise. It is put under the pole so that the spirits will withdraw into this paradise and leave the human beings.

The wedges represent the magic dagger of the smith-god and his subordinates. They are the chief weapons against demons. [791] The Bon priest is also a pupil and subordinate of this smith-god. He especially venerates him and likewise uses the three-edged magic dagger in conjuring away the demons. [535] At the temple dances (tscham dances) the subordinate spirits of the weather-smith-god also appear with the dagger. Lamas never use the dagger. The three notches form three knobs which are supposed to represent the human skull. [765] The demons especially fear this, like all things that come from the dead, such as the bone flute, the whip of human skin, and the skull drum.

192 [829] Word List

241 789 The pole-goat: aradziãn (Tib. loanword) = to stretch out the goat.

ima rĕdziala (Tujen) = to stretch out the goat.

[778] The goat: ima; chũ-la (Chin.); chia-la (Chin.).

[207 cont.]

775 the Tujen. For instance, one hears little about a Buddhist hell,
171 which plays a much more important role among the neighboring
Chinese and is quite graphically portrayed in many temples. It
is true that the Tujen like to consider the misfortune in this
world as punishment for earlier transgressions. This soul, which
775 one could call "incarnation soul" or "private soul" -- in con-
764 trast to the clan soul -- becomes free for the incarnation through
the transforming lotus fire at the cremation. The informant, at
any rate, interpreted the lotus-mandala and the fire at the cre-
mation in this sense and ascribed to them a transforming power.
This does not mean that this soul remains in the body as long
as, say, in an animated corpse. Rather, at the death of the
person, the lamas are supposed "to open the way" through prayer,
so that the soul may reach Tushita. To what extent such explana-
[171] tions correspond with the orthodox Buddhist doctrine will be left
undecided. Any any rate, the conceptions of the people are
vague.

775 Even more unclear are the conceptions about the third
776 soul, which is supposed to transform itself into a demon. Noth-
ing is known about its fate and about the cause of such a trans-
formation. Such a soul is feared, however. Perhaps it is this
soul that in case of dissatisfaction after the bäda disturbs the
[764] human beings at the command of the clan soul, haunts the
[782] house and yard, and causes sickness and misfortune. At any
rate, a great part of the offerings and prayers at the death rites
is given out of fear of this soul. The constantly expressed wish
to the dead person runs: "Forget us, be content, do not come
775 back." A natural discontent and a kind of missing of life's goal
776 are connected with the soul of unmarried adult girls. It be-
589 comes a demon who is so dangerous that even other demons flee
from it, for which reason the Bon priests take the material for
[765] their bone flutes, their whip, etc. from the corpses of such girls.
The discontent and non-fulfillment can only be accounted for
in this case by the unmarried state, which, according to Tujen
conceptions, goes against every natural ordinance for a female
person. One may suspect that this soul-belief also has a strong
[588] effect on the custom that the Tujen call "to arrange the heavenly

[253 cont.]
791 is a purely popular one, and nothing about the inner relationship
779 of these groups to one another is indicated by it; they are probably not essentially different. The farmer-Bon have become most superficial and degenerate. They still wear as their sole distinguishing mark only the artificial brush garland, in order thus to imitate the massive braided turban of the shepherd-Bon; they have practically died out. -- The most important cultic
[765] implements of the Bon are taken from the human corpse: the
[534] double skull-drum covered with human skin, the whip plaited out of human skin (and probably with a bone handle), the thigh-bone flute, and the bone dagger. These implements are supposed to be taken from the corpse of an unmarried adult female person. By the special relationship to skeleton and corpse alone,
[174] the Bon might acknowledge an ancient Tibetan home, which, to be sure, is not only called the "snow land," but also the "land of corpses."

[989] Even though the Bon have much in common with the lamas, there is a series of ceremonies reserved for them, especially the various types of demon exorcism. They are even invited into the monastery by the lamas on the first and fifteenth day of every month, where they undertake these rites. Nothing more about a former opposition between
178 Buddhism and the Bon religion is to be noted here. It shares
791 with Lamaism the fate of gradual disappearance; indeed, in
779 its official form it has already preceded it in this. It is a striking fact that both the Bon religion and Lamaism wane as Chinese agriculture expands, although precisely the sedentary life [254] of the lamas in the large monasteries and the performance of the weather conjuration of the Bon should be especially appropriate for an agricultural culture. The reasons are certainly not religious in nature.

174 The Tujen, however, have probably preserved much
791 more of the Bon tradition than is recognizable at first glance.
779 The marriage customs and the popular poetry probably contain a great deal that would make this ancient layer clear and permit it to be followed deep into Tibet. It is difficult, however, to free everything from the Lamaistic embellishments.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

erals, the heavenly warriors, the god of the wind, the gods honored in the Monguor villages, then the spirits honored in the private families of the village, the souls of the last three generations of ancestors of the villagers.[8] Every guest is ushered to his throne, greeted, and congratulated in the same way. The shaman has a gentle talk with each of them, while the audience prostrates itself in reverential silence. Finally, drum and cymbals are beaten and the shamans dance with feverish gusto, the dance of thanksgiving for the arrival of all the guests, in order to make them happy.

ENTERTAINMENT OF THE SPIRITS

Then follows the next act—making the spirits propitious and well disposed (*nan shen*). The shamans and the apprentices kneel in rows before the pole, with incense sticks in their joined hands in the same way as the audience. It is the most important and enjoyed moment of the day. It reveals the peculiar, but typical, religious frame of mind of shamans and Monguors. In the deepest and most solemn silence, the chief of the shamans starts talking with the spirits. He gives a detailed account of all the offerings displayed on the table and before the thrones of the gods—sheep, pig. "All these offerings are brought by the people who are kneeling before you . . . notwithstanding the fact they all had a hard time this year, they enjoyed spending that money for you. If it were possible, they would have given more . . . please enjoy their offerings. . . . You are their superiors, their chiefs, your power is unlimited. . . . All these people trust in you and are confident of you. . . . You came from so far, climbing high mountains, crossing dangerous rivers . . . in order to sit down for a while with them in this poor courtyard.

[8] A couple of facts already encountered reveal two principles of the philosophy of the shamans concerning the duration of the existence of the spirits and the human souls. Spirits are not eternal; they weaken and become exhausted and old and consequently fade away. The famous White Tiger on the old mounds became old and had to receive new invigoration; a typical fact will be recorded of the great spirit of one of the five great Obos of the country, which had become old and had to be rejuvenated. Spirits are not eternal; even the spirits of the statues become completely exhausted after three years, and every three years the shaman has to replace the exhausted forces with brand new ones.

The souls of the deceased of only the last three generations are honored and nurtured at the time of the rite of spring. When illness is ascribed to malignant souls of the deceased, the shaman, outside the courtyard, traces three small circles, and one more expansive; food is placed in the three small ones to nurture the souls of the deceased ancestors of the last three generations only; in the big circle is placed food for the roaming alien souls. These facts reveal an articulate belief that souls of the ancestors last three generations only, and also that hungry souls are dangerous beings.

In old China the souls of the deceased kings after five generations, princes after three, nobles after one, lost their original protecting power and were relegated among those of the group to whom personal offerings were refused (H. Maspero, *Chine antique, op. cit.*, 186). They were already far on the way toward decaying and fading away.

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pounds of butter boil in another caldron. The Living Buddha, in full attire with the mitre of the five Dyhana Buddhas on his head, squats on a felt in front of a table, with dishes containing spelt, rice, spices, and holy water. He recites the prayers, with a curtain between him and the oven, lest the sight of the burning corpse might desecrate his eyes. He orders a lama to throw the blessed spelt and spices on the burning corpse and puts some butter into a small ladle held by the lama, who pours it on the corpse.

When the rite is finished the group prostrates itself and cries to the smoking corpse for the last time, "Do not harm the family," and returns. All of them jump over a fire built before the courtyard, wash their hands, and rub them over a long knife used to cut straw. Noodles without meat are prepared for all of them, and they say five-hundred Om Manis. The lama receives his alms (always in an odd number) and returns to the monastery. The horse of the deceased father or the valuable headdress of the deceased mother will be brought to the monastery with a couple of pieces of best clothes to be sold by the lamas, and to have prayers said according to the value of the sale of the items.[36] The clothes carried by the horse are to be put on the saddle with the collar and arms on the left side; a horse is mounted on the right side.

In the meantime, the sons and sons-in-law have tended the oven and closed the four openings. After three days the members of the family and relatives open the oven, pick out the bones with chopsticks and put them into the small coffin prepared for this. The remaining fragments of bones and ashes are gathered up in the skirts of the gown and scattered on the mountain. It is said that sheep are very fond of such bones. The cremation must not be performed in cultivated areas, it has to be done in deep valleys or lonely spots. Every year after the shamanist springtime feast, this prohibition is expressly announced. The sons and sons-in-law bury the small coffin in their fields or near the oven, and make a small tumulus. While the sons are kneeling before the tumulus, the sons-in-law and married and unmarried daughters bring some earth a couple of times in the skirts of their gowns, and spread it on top of the tumulus. Paper is burned, a lamp made of dough is lit, libations and prostrations are made and lamentations are uttered. The coffin will be dug up again the following April, on the feast of the worship of the ancestors buried in the family cemetery, and the name of the deceased will be noted on the genealogical register (see Part I: 71). After the tumulus rite is performed

[36] A similar custom is encountered among the Mongols: Serruys, *op. cit.*, 137. The barbarians (i.e., the Mongols of Inner Mongolia around 1600) invited lamas to recite prayers for the dead for seven days. They gave to the lamas in remuneration the best horse, which the deceased loved most; his best clothes and his coat of armor, and all the oxen and horses which the family received from friends and relatives as mourning gifts. See also Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 126, and Kervyn, *op. cit.*, 112.

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the great mourning period is over, and the whole group prostrates itself and thanks the master of ceremonies, who will receive twelve rolls.

The incineration ceremonies for poor people are obviously less elaborate. The maternal uncle is invited, a Red lama prays for one day, drives away the souls of the deceased, and receives five-hundred copper coins and some rolls. The people themselves perform the incineration, bury the small coffin, and build the tumulus.

MOURNING CUSTOMS

The Monguors today still call the mourning period the "black period." A son born after the death of his father is still called a "black son." The old custom of wearing black during the mourning period is still noticeable in the clothes worn by men and women, as will be noted.

It is interesting how the use of black as a mourning color has been so widespread in Central Asia among the nomads, even before our era, although in China white was the mourning color from the earliest times. During the Chou dynasty (1122–202 B.C.), while the family dressed in white mourning clothes, the inside of the coffin had to be upholstered with black silk.[37] In 626 B.C. black was already the mourning color for the barbarians living in north China.[38] The Scythians (Yüeh chih) in Samarkand, in A.D. 634, wore black clothes at the time of mourning.[39] In Tibet the head of the king was enveloped with a black turban in the coffin in order to preserve him against evil spirits.[40] The Liao officials (907–1125) blackened the bright parts of their hats for a few days in mourning for the deceased emperor.[41] The maternal uncle of Emperor K'ang hsi died in Wu-lan-pu-tung during the campaign against Galdan in 1695. His ashes were carried to Peking in a small coffin, put in a sedan chair upholstered with black satin, and in Peking the coffin was placed under a canopy of black satin.[42] Black is still the mourning color of the Mongols of the Ordos.[43]

The Monguors practice the great and small mourning. The great mourning consists of men wearing their coats inside out, not buttoned or fastened, girdling the waist with a hemp rope, and undoing their plaited hair and binding it on the neck with a small hemp rope. The women turn their skirts inside out and do not wear the traditional elaborate headdress. The members of the family of a lower generation than the deceased wear the mourning dress. The relatives, sons-in-law, their wives and children, members of a higher generation, do not

[37] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 184.
[38] Couvreur, *Tso Chuan* 1: 431. Zottoli, *Cursus Litteraturae Sinicae* 4: 39.
[39] Wieger, *op. cit.*, 1569.
[40] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 191.
[41] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 283.
[42] De Mailla, *Histoire de la Chine* 4: 147, Paris, Clousier, 1778.
[43] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 130.

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wear the mourning dress for members of a lower generation, nor the husband for his wife, and *vice versa*. 765

The great mourning begins at the moment of death and ends after the burying of the small coffin. During these days, it is not permitted to wash face and hands, comb the hair, shave, or leave the courtyard.

It is noteworthy that the Koryaks in Siberia put the clothes on the deceased inside out,[44] and so do the Tibetans.[45] The T'u-yü-hun had a funeral procession when burying the dead, but mourning clothes were removed when the ceremony was over.[46]

After the great mourning, the small mourning starts. Men remove the red fringes from the ceremonial hat. They change the more elaborate girdle for a simple black one, and the embroidered tobacco pouch for an unadorned black one. Women do not wear new clothes; they put aside red and green vestments, using black or dark blue garments instead. However, the piece of blue cloth which covers their headdress is changed to a white one; the red fringes on the headdress are removed and strips of black cloth take their place. Ear and finger rings and all jewelry are prohibited. They are forbidden to attend any festivities, to enter temples or monasteries.

Monguors, mourning their grandparents, wear the mourning dress for a year—in some places, however, only for one-hundred days. Brothers mourn their elder brother only forty-nine days. At that time a lama is invited to say some prayers for one or three days. The entire family goes to the tumulus to burn paper and incense sticks, to offer rolls and a leg of mutton, and to make libations, and prostrate themselves. The women lament, and the small mourning period is over.[47]

It is said that in former times all the Monguors had to follow the mourning rite for one-hundred days upon the death of their T'u-ssu or his lady. At present only [642] the officials of the T'u-ssu observe this rite.[48]

OMINOUS DEATHS AND THE ABODES OF EVIL SPIRITS

WOMEN WHO DIE IN CHILDBIRTH

A woman who dies in childbirth is said to be drowned in a lake of blood. It is a very bad omen for the family. Even a person dying in the courtyard during childbirth is seriously feared after death, and the souls have to be driven away more elaborately. A lama of the Red Sect is invited, and quite often a shaman, because they are more proficient in magic. The 766

[44] Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee*, *op. cit.*, 3: 421.

[45] David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens au Tibet*, *op. cit.*, 130.

[46] Parker, *op. cit.*, 109.

[47] Serruys, Pei-lou-fong-sou, *Monumenta Serica*, 10: 295, 1945. Among the Mongols of Inner Mongolia around 1600, the mourning period lasted only for seven days. It consisted for the women in not wearing the headdress called Ku-Ku; for the men in removing the button from the hat.

[48] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 130–131, notes the elaborate mourning rites and prescriptions at present still used by the Mongols of the Ordos.

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